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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

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March, 1960

COVER

Mary Theresa ("Terri") Malone, 18, is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Malone of Yonkers, N. Y. At the time of this photograph she was a senior at the Sacred Heart Academy of Yonkers. She plans to be an interpretative dancer.—Photo by Cecil Layne

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■ An analysis of anti-Negro propaganda in the USA, its effects upon Negro progress, and what the Negro can do to combat it

Background and achievement for Negro-Americans*

By Charles H. Wesley

AS we join this 50th Anniversary Celebration, our thinking is directed backward across fifty years and then forward to the challenge of the years ahead. This dual view, looking backward and forward, reminds us of Edward Bellamy's famous volume, published first in 1885, *Looking Backward*. It is the best known of America's Utopias. He writes, "Nowhere can we find more solid ground for daring anticipations of human development during the next one thousand years than by looking backward upon the progress of the last one hundred years." *Looking Backward* was written in the belief that the Golden Age lies before us and not behind us and if we will it, it is not far away. It is important that we look ahead and regard the battles of the future of more importance than the victories of the past.

I speak to you tonight on the subject "Background and Achievement." From the earliest periods in American life, one dominant, general belief has been widespread in the thought of the American people concerning the Negro people. This result grows out of dogmatic conclusions which have been drawn from differences in color, physique, oppor-

* An address delivered at the 50th annual convention of the NAACP held in New York City, July 13-19, 1959. Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president of Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio, is also a historian and the author of many historical works, among which are *Richard Allen* (1936), *The History of Alpha Phi Alpha* (1948), *The Story of the Negro Retold* (1959).

tunity, and inherited or acquired characteristics which have been regarded as an inescapable background. Out of such reactions, there was developed the doctrine of racism, segregation, and jim crow, which stated that Negroes were inferior biologically, psychologically, intellectually and morally, and that they must be maintained in an inferior status in political, educational, social, and economic relationships. The North as well as the South learned these lessons in inferiority, resulting from centuries of the slave background and oppression for those who were free. The Negro's racial characteristics were regarded as permanent. As the leopard could not change his spots, as unchangeable was also the Negro. Racial differences would then become the basis of segregation and discrimination.

The achievement of Negro-Americans as a population group have been made in spite of inadequate backgrounds. As in all population groupings there cannot be accurate all-embracing conclusions concerning ethnic groups, because the differences within these groups are oftimes greater than the differences between the groups. However, there have been assumptions and hypothetical conclusions drawn, regardless of this evident fact, and used to bar opportunities to achievement.

NATURE OF ACHIEVEMENTS

The term achievement has a vague and almost indefinable quality. It has been used in its broad sense as an accomplishment, a great deed or a praiseworthy feat. In its narrow psychological sense, it has been used to refer to the results of test scores and grades. There are some achievements which are really second rate ones, but are magnified beyond their real merit because they occur within the Negro community rather than in more direct relation to the American community as a whole. Then, there are outstanding ones which have definite significance, for Negroes in America have been marching steadily forward under such handicaps to places of distinction and merit, so that these advancements could be considered not only as significant, but in many cases as remarkable.

Frederick Douglass, nineteenth century abolitionist and publicist, once said in an address to white Americans that the Negro should be measured, not "from the heights which he has attained, but rather from the depths which he has had to come." By any such measurement, there are Negro-Americans who have become achievers through their praiseworthy accomplishments. In fact, there are few serious observers who doubt the remarkable achievements made by the Negro in the United States in spite of his background and of the vision of the achievements of the years ahead.

There has been continous comparison between white and Negro capacity for achievement through long periods of years. There has also been material of sorts for comparison between the white and Negro population, although these so-called facts as well as the conclusions have been based upon assumptions, without consideration of backgrounds. Concepts of Negro inferiority based both upon the slave system and its after-

math and as fixed and unchanging absolutes have been built into the thought of the American people. These proponents have rationalized themselves into a superiority already assumed, and unfortunately these assumptions have been free from attack, and accordingly have been too often without challenge. Let us glance at some of these views which have constituted a prominent part of the background of Negro-Americans.

RACIAL STEREOTYPES

One of the earliest of the crude comparisons on the physical basis was made during the Civil War, and a second edition appeared, in 1886, by J. H. Van Evrie in his book, *White Supremacy and Negro Subordination*, with a sub-title, "Negroes A Subordinate Race." He wrote, "Of course we are not able to speculate on what is impossible or to suggest what might happen if the Negro head had resembled that of the Caucasian, for the slightest change of an elementary atom in the Negro's structure would render an impossible monstrosity. But with the broad forehead and small cerebellum of the white man, it is perfectly obvious that the Negro would no longer possess a center of gravity and therefore those philanthropic people who would educate him into intellectual equality or change the mental organism of the Negro would simply render him incapable of standing on his feet, or of an upright position on any terms."

As the Civil War closed and Reconstruction began, most Southern writers reached conclusions with reference to the Negro as follows: First, the Negro would not work without compulsion and not without the direction of the white man. Such a philosophy made it difficult for Negroes to manifest initiative and leadership. The second conclusion was that the Negro was inherently lazy, shiftless, licentious, and totally inferior.

Such racist views were expressed by political leaders about the continuation of the pre-war status of Negro inferiority and they rode into political power upon this basis. When Ben Tillman was inaugurated as Governor of South Carolina in 1890, he regarded his victory as "the triumph of democracy and white supermacy over mongrelism and anarchy." He urged the repeal of the 14th and 15th Amendments, and said that this would confirm the black man in his "inferior position," and "pave the way for greater harmony between the races." In the same vein, J. K. Vardaman, of Mississippi, declared, "The Negro is physically, mentally, morally, racially and eternally inferior to the white man". He also denounced the Negro as an "industrial stumbling block, a political ulcer, a social scab, a lazy, lying, lustful animal, which no amount of training can transform into a tolerable citizen". When the notable article by William English Walling fifty years ago, one of the founders of the NAACP, appeared in *The Independent*, September 3, 1908, his proposal for the NAACP stated, "Either the spirit of the abolitionists or of Lincoln and Lovejoy must be revived and we must come to treat the Negro on a plane of absolute political and social equality, or

Vardaman and Tillman will soon have transferred the race war to the North."

Toward the close of the nineteenth century, Henry Grady of Georgia declared "the only hope and assurance of the South was the clear and unmistakable domination of the white race". Tom Watson, later a senator and a political opportunist, built the populist movement with Negroes and whites united for his own self-seeking purposes, he then abandoned this and became an exponent of Negro inferiority, with the claim "this is a white man's civilization and the white man must maintain it".

OPINIONS OF PSEUDO-SCIENTISTS

These polemics on Negro inferiority were buttressed by pseudo-scientists in anthropology, biology, ethnology, and psychology and their writings, which were used to influence American thought, finally prevented and barred both opportunity and achievement. Not only physical differences, but also mental capacities and attainments were subjected to investigation. Statistics as to disease, crime, delinquency, and illegitimacy were used to prove mental and moral inabilities and lesser attainments for Negroes.

Frederick Hoffman, insurance statistician, in his *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, published in 1896, endeavored to develop the inferiorities of the Negro population from collected statistics. Prior to this volume, Hoffman had written in *Medical News*, 1894, "what else but a high rate of mortality and a low degree of morality could be the result of such tendencies of a race wholly unprepared for the intensity of the struggle for life". In 1906, Dr. Robert Bean, a professor of Johns Hopkins University, attempted to prove that the brains of the American Negroes were smaller and different and that therefore they were inferior mentally. Dr. F. P. Mall of the same faculty and the same institution used the same brain specimens and showed that Bean had distorted the measurements and reached false conclusions. Mall added, "For the present, the crudeness of our method will not permit us to determine anatomical characters due to race, sex or genuses and which, if they exist, are completely massed by the large number of marked individual variations".

While these scientists and others were at work developing a background which was going to be difficult for Negroes to disprove and disown, other racial theorists with ulterior views were constructing patterns of thought, so that the Negro became not only a type but a stereotype of inferiority. It was during this period, fifty years ago, that the NAACP had its birth. Among its purposes as phrased by the founders, was the hope of having enough educated persons "to leaven the lump" and "to inspire the masses".

NEGROES NEED INSPIRATION

Inspiration and confidence were needed by Negroes in this period of a half century ago, for in various ways Negro-Americans were depicted as dull, superstitious, stupid, ignorant, naturally comical, lazy, criminal and descendants of the

worse aspects of slavery and oppression. On the one hand there was depicted the kindly "Uncle Tom." This type was succeeded by the humorous "Uncle Remus." Then came the minstrel and the clown and the stereotype of the inferior person. The stage, the screen, the radio and some newspapers participated in the creation of types which were different and inferior. Negroes were portrayed in kindly overtones as comics, buffons, servants, menials, petty thieves, and always as inferiors in speech, dress and behavior, and as variations from the norm.

In this connection, James Weldon Johnson wrote of this day in his *Black Manhattan* that these concepts "fixed a stage tradition of the Negro as irresponsible, happy-go-lucky, wide-grinning, loud-laughing, shuffling banjo playing, singing, dancing sort of a being." These impressions were continued through the antics of such actors as Al Jolson, Eddie Cantor, and the black face concepts of Amos and Andy. These concepts were fixed more completely by the continued use of Negro servants only on the stage and the screen. The subtle influence of these presentations are not often examined by casual observers. Many are interested in the fact that Negroes have jobs in these areas, and these are to them more important than the stereotypes which are being pictured.

NOVELISTS PORTRAY STEREOTYPES

Novelists carried on the concept of the Negro as an inferior being and at the same time one who was different and sub-human as a result of race and color. Thomas Dixon carried on the concept of the Negro as an inferior being, different and beastly into his novels, particularly, *The Birth of A Nation, The Klansman,* and *The Leopard's Spots, A Romance of the White Man's Burden.* Charles Carroll in his *The Negro A Beast* or *In the Image of God* endeavored to show that the Negro was not of the human species. These novels were widely read, and negative and unworthy pictures were created at a period when Negro voting and injustices were being considered and contested. Upon this background, a set of hardened and crystallized beliefs became current concerning Negro-Americans as a population group. The NAACP has taken an active part in this fifty year period in combatting the stereotyping of Negroes on the stage and in motion pictures as a buffoon, an unintelligent person, a servant and a subservient individual. Through this propaganda in science and literature the economic and social background of slavery and oppression was developed into a bi-racial social order in freedom from which there was little deviation from the major assumptions of the slave regime.

However, there have been various stereotypes, not only those of direct inferiorities but also of differences which were uncomplimentary. They have been drawn by Negro and white writers. Guy B. Johnson, of the University of North Carolina, effectively summarizes these as follows: "Stereotypes do not always disparage the Negro. They are sometimes complimentary. The Negro is frequently pictured as a shrewd judge of human nature, a wise and witty philoso-

pher, a loyal and devoted friend to his 'white folks.' He is highly gifted in music and sense of rhythm, is a natural singer and dancer. He is a born actor and orator, never lacking in words to express himself."

BUILDING THE BACKGROUND

Individual white Americans who were kindly disposed toward Negroes still believed in their inferiority. One of these, George W. Cable, a Southern opponent of jim crow, wrote in his *The Negro Question:* "Yes, the black race is inferior to the white. The Almighty has established inequality as a principle of nature. But the lesson it teaches is magnanimity not scorn." And again he declared that which is so typical of the white South, "Every one of us grew up in the idea that he had, by birth and race, certain broad powers of police over any and every person of color."

By the close of the nineteenth century, the concept of Negro inferiority had reached a goal. With an extensive system of inferior schools and jim-crow experiences, a superior white status and an inferior black and brown status were developed with laws, court decisions, customs, and traditions giving to them fixed patterns of separate living.

Too little attention is now being given to the way in which this background has been built up and used by the prejudiced and the misinformed. The result has been that the false interpretations, often unchallenged, have been able to condition the thinking of Americans, both white and Negro, so that they often believe that there is superiority for all white persons irrespective of education, culture, moral and spiritual qualities, and the group inferiority of all Negroes because of their race or color. Such persons have sick minds and when sick minds are confronted with realities, instead of changing and adjusting to new knowledge and new situations, they become sicker and more irrational as they attempted to assure themselves and others that they are superior.

MISLEADING HISTORY

There are those, even among the scholarly inclined, who would regard slavery as a blessing and an opportunity for the Negro. James Truslow Adams, noted historian and author of the eight-volume *The March of Democracy*, wrote in his *America's Tragedy* the following: "Would the 12,000,000 of Negroes in the United States today prefer that their ancestors had never been enslaved and that therefore they themselves if alive should at this moment be living as savages or barbarians in the African jungle? Would a DuBois prefer to be head man to an African chief instead of a Harvard graduate, scholar and writer? Would a Robeson prefer beating a tom tom to thrilling audiences throughout the world with his beautiful voice? Would the colored washerwoman I had in the North give up her comfortable house and her car, in which she motors her family to Virginia each summer, for the ancestral grass hut in the jungle?" Here is a subtle and specious attempt of a widely read historian, based upon a lack of knowledge of African history and culture, to show that slavery was a background of blessing to the Negro.

One of the contemporary historians of our day who is regarded as one of the great among historical writers, Arnold Toynbee, in his *Study of History*, stated that "the black races alone have not contributed positively to any civilization as yet." And again Toynbee stated, "When we classify mankind by color, the only one of the primary races, which has not made a creative contribution to any of our 21 civilizations is the black race." And still again he added, "Within the first 6,000 years, the black race has not helped to create any civilization". Such statements, while entirely fallacious, have formed a background for discrimination as well as beliefs in Negro inferiority.

These views are being augmented today through the publications of the white citizens' councils and their counterparts. Wide circulation is being given to pamphlets, news clippings, photostats and brochures dealing with the inferiority of the Negro in the past and the present. Some caricatures carry the titles, "Black Ape Odor," "Animal Smell," "Small Brain 35 ounces," and so forth. Correspondents to newspapers have been engaged to write stories and to give currency in pages of northern newspapers as well as southern newspapers to falsehoods concerning the intelligence and the possibilities of achievements by Negroes.

USE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS

The most recent of the justifications of racial inferiority which form a background in Negro life and make it difficult for achievement is found in the psychological tests. Most of these tests indicate that there are varying achievements between groups of the population, but the conclusions are that Negroes score lower than whites on these tests. However, there is overlapping, with superior youths of both population groups making achievements.

The great bulk of the evidence reveals that there is no scientific basis for the concepts of difference in superior or inferior intelligence and achievement among ethnic population groups. Lewis Terman, a Nestor of intelligence in America, has written in 1947 in his *The Gifted Child Grows Up:* "No race or nationality had any monoply on brains. The non-caucasian representation in our gifted group would certainly have been larger than it was but for handicaps of language, environment, and educational opportunity." Otto Klinburg followed this view in 1951 and stated that "psychological tests cannot be relied on to settle questions of superior or inferior races because these instruments are not perfect for measurement of native or innate differences in ability or intelligence."

There have been a long series of psychological investigations during the past three decades which have purposed to rate intelligence of different population groups. Most of this testing has been done in the United States. While the purpose has seemed to have research interest, reports of these investigations have dogmatized and helped to dominate the subordinate status of Negro-Americans. However, during World War I, tests were given to the American expeditionary forces and the results were arranged in racial groups and averages. It was found that the

average mental age of the white men in the Army was 13.1 years. That of the Negro was 10.4 and the overlap was 12 per cent. Immigrant white nationalities were also tested and the Poles were found to be at the bottom of the list, and the Italians were about on the same level as the Poles. Other scores showed that soldiers from the northern states had higher scores than soldiers from the southern states. Negroes of the northern states of Ohio, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania scored higher than the whites of the southern states of Mississippi, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Georgia.

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES

During and since World War II, there has been a restudy of these situations. Conclusions have been reached that the scores made by the various groups were based upon the results of the influence of environment, including homes and schools, the socio-economic status of families, their education, the teacher's social origin, sex and status—for they too have biases, a knowledge of English and the vocabulary which was used in the questions. The scores both for whites and for Negroes were not the same from different parts of the country. This would seem to be a sectional cause rather than a racial one. Such differences as appeared are therefore now being explained without consideration of the hypothesis of innate racial difference in mental ability, except by those who oppose integration in the schools. For it is now believed by the vast majority of social scientists that both aptitude and specific training are necessary to succeed in passing the tests satisfactorily, when environmental conditions are different.

An inferior environment exerts negative influences and over the years these have their effects upon youths. Explanations of differences in intelligence are then made on environmental factors which have nothing to do with race. It is recognized now that there are exceptional individuals in each of the population groups and that some Negro children are more advanced than white children, as test results show, and that motivation is an important factor, but the differences are due more largely to differences in education, culture, experience, language and vocabulary usage, family and community life, ambition and motivation. Results also show that achievement can be increased when environment is changed. Experiences with pupils in newly integrated situations are demonstrating this fact.

On the larger scene of racial differences, when UNESCO in 1951 invited ten scientists on five continents to assemble for the purpose of considering the main aspects of race and of drafting a statement, the following was included in reference to achievement: "Whatever classification the anthropologist makes of man he never includes mental characteristics as a part of these classifications. It is more generally recognized that intelligence tests do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and educational. Whenever it has been possible to make allowances for difference in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similar-

ity in mental characters among mental groups. In short, given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same . . . available scientific knowledge proves no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development."

USE OF TEST SCORES

In spite of such conclusions test scores have been employed popularly to oppose the integration of the public schools. Some parents who know only the one side of the issue have become excitingly negative about this proposal. Others who know the other side are affirmative. Superintendent Carmichael of Louisville, Kentucky, has observed that the low score of Negroes on tests does not introduce as much of a problem as one might suppose. Not only in Louisville but in Washington, D. C., and wherever considerations are made for differnces in environment, education and motivation, explanations are made on other foundations than race, and adjustments are then made rapidly. The National Manpower Council pointed out in 1953 that "Most social scientists now believe that there are no inborn differences in intellectual potential between Negroes and the rest of the population, or that such differences, if they exist, are very small."

But, this is not a new discovery and integration is not a twentieth century novelty of the NAACP and the United States Supreme Court. As far back as 1872, Frederick Douglass said: "Educate the colored children and the white children together in your day and your night schools throughout the South and they will learn to know each other better and be able to cooperate for mutual benefit."

This total negative background, which is being used as propaganda to prevent the development of better human relations, needs to be faced and its assumptions and implications answered if Negro-Americans are to think well of themselves and to have others do so, for there is a vast gulf between public opinion and the views of the scientists. Mere individual denial or convention resolutions are insufficient, as they have been through the years. This lack of belief concerning the capacity, the contributions to civilization, and the achievement of Negro-Americans should be terminated and it can be with resolution on our part. Be it known that a people misinformed about their past will be slow to gain self-confidence.

GROUP PRIDE

A phrase of Jean Jacques Rousseau's in his *Social Contract* is important in this connection: "Man is born free but he is everywhere in chains". This is particularly true of Negro-Americans—"Born free" and yet everywhere now in chains. The task of breaking them is largely the task of the proponents of freedom. It was with profound insight into a similar situation that Lord Bryon declared, "Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

Various peoples, including minorities in various periods of history,

have realized the truth of this dictum —the Jews, the Irish, other minorities, and now the Africans. When the Jews went out from slavery in Egypt, they had no common literature or history, no common background for belief in themselves or for others to believe in them, but these people began to dig into their history and into their group background and to bring up worthy facts from hidden and forgotten records. They constructed genealogies, they drew up family and individual histories and the stories of David and Solomon, legends, traditions, the literary descriptions of the creation and of the flood and of Moses and of Samson, Aaron, Joshua, Miriam and Ruth; and when they returned to Jerusalem they had their Old Testament story, their Jewish history, their literature and the favored background of their traditions. They had not only prophets, priests, judges and kings, but those who in spite of human weaknesses were great. This consolidation of their past and its relationship to their present helped to unite Jews scattered as they were, and out of this collection of fact and fiction came the colossal idea of belonging to a people with a destiny.

Today, one would not want each of the peoples similarly situated to develop the superior ideas of themselves, and Jews have long since lost this opinion. The most important fact about this incident however is that they believed that they were predestined to achievement in spite of their despied background. Jews all over the world believed this idea and it was woven into their minds. Parents sacrificed that their children might go to school and college. It becomes a part of their tradition, and almost their religion, to go to school and college and to achieve. Parents had their youth to believe in themselves as Jews and to be loyal to themselves—not ashamed of themselves. Whenever great names are called in literature, science, philosophy, art, and all cultural fields, Jewish names are among them. They themselves with their friends struck the blows against their chains of racial and religious prejudice, and they continue these programs as opposition to them continues.

ANSWERING ATTACKS

Negro-Americans can undertake to answer the perfidious attacks, the libels and the poisonous slanders made upon the entire group, thereby blocking the gifted individual. We need to arm ourselves with truth against the stereotypes, the fraud and the slanders which are continuing to disgrace and libel the darker peoples in the United States and to create a false background for them. For instance, it has been charged that Negroes are tubercular and that the high rate of the incidence of this disease among Negroes is a racial weakness. The opposite view is that the basic cause is environmental. According to a 1959 report of the New York State Department of Health, environment plays a more important part than race or color in the high tuberculosis mortality and morbidity of Negroes. A review of the survival rates and the treatment showed no significant difference between Negroes and whites. How can such new information become more general?

We can break these chains which bind Negro-Americans and which manifest themselves in a fixed status of racial inferiority, physical and mental weakness, and second class citizenship. Segregation is linked with inferiority and the arguments of the latter are used to support the former. Although legal decisions favoring equality of opportunity, participation and equal treatment have been handed down by the courts in the fields of public education, higher education, parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, beaches, golf courses, housing and suffrage, the gaps continue to be manifested between theory, practice, and enforcement. The issues, as we know, are not totally resolved by court decisions, nor by statutes, nor by the views of modern science unless the public's mind is reached.

CHANGING THE BACKGROUND

What can be done to change this background? There are four steps which can be taken by leaders and workers in this cause of freedom. First, *let us exert every effort to overcome the background misconceptions about Negroes.* When misconceptions are spread, as they have been and will be, competent persons should be ready to present the facts which reveal their falsity. This action is defensive and has the weakness of defense but it has value so far as truth is concerned. When the first Negro convention met in Philadelphia in 1830, there were 40 delegates whom John W. Cromwell called the 40 Immortals. They declared that there was the juggling of the statistics on crime, poverty, and Negro depravity. They said that science was used to prove the innate inferiority of the Negro and religion to prove divine sanction for Negro slavery. This was 129 years ago, but the same concepts are active today, not in relation to slavery but as regards discrimination and segregation, which are its descendants. A writer in the *Anglo-African* in 1859, described the men of this convention: "We had giants in those days," and I would add that, "We have giants now."

When the Niagara Conference, which was a background for the NAACP, assembled in 1905 racism and discrimination were denounced as "unreasoning human savagery." The conference of 1909 declared that "the whole argument by which Negroes have been pronounced absolutely and inevitably inferior to whites as utterly without scientific basis." The denial of similar charges is again required and today we can speak with more telling effect than did they fifty years ago. There must now be more than denial and the adoption of resolutions. There must be work, study, research, writing, speaking, and publication. A minority—achieving pride in its own past—will be better fitted to engage in the struggle for human rights.

OBJECTIONABLE TRAITS

Secondly, *the conduct of campaigns to eliminate the objectionable traits in Negroes which arouse opposition from others.* In nearly all cases where Negroes have manifested modest being and good manners, community relationships have been

generally helped. On the contrary, exhibitionism, boisterousness in voice as well as in action are oftimes resented. Cultured persons whoever they are object to the overt exhibitions which occur in public places. It usually becomes annoying and is regarded as a racial deficiency. We should urge youths and adults with whom we come in contact to cultivate the maximum good taste and good manners. Irritating, blatant, inconsiderate conduct can be disastrous to the Negro's reputation. Such individuals can block the group's advancement. We should work among youths and our communities for higher standards of courtesy, ethics, morality; the reduction of vulgarity, coarseness, blasphemy, and the increase of personal culture and cultural appreciation of the best. It is deplorable to walk through certain sections of known Negro communities and to hear the vulgarity, the coarseness, the loud noises, and bad music. Let us join a campaign for decency, for better manners and better conduct, not only among youths but among adults. This is a part of the background which we should desire to change and can change in homes, schools, colleges, and organizations.

VALUE OF PUBLICITY

Thirdly, *let us become active in publicizing the facts which are creditable to Negro-Americans.* Most Americans just do not know the facts of Negro achievement. Each of us can serve as an active individual so that others may learn about the special ways in which Negroes have contributed to Western Civilization. A resource center or an information office is a desirable and valuable channel for Negro-Americans. The NAACP has had this objective as one of its incidental programs through many years. This work can be also valuable to Negro-Americans who are so often apparently ashamed of themselves and of what was their past. It is well known that there has been inadequate treatment of the Negro and of Africa in almost all encyclopedias, books of reference, and textbooks. Testimonies to the difficulties in securing reliable information concerning Negroes are given by libraries, schools, and colleges. The search for such information in various communities has to be in terms of available books and periodicals, and in some places these sources are few and often inadequate. Many facts are not known to governmental agencies which also seek information. The demand for dependable information is widespread, for much of that which is obtained is polemic, argumentative, and frequently not objective. The lag between scientific knowledge which has denied the concept of racial inferiority is due in part to the lack of factual knowledge, and the presence of stereotypes, myths and falsehoods which are deeply rooted in the background of the past.

Why should not Negro-Americans, with others of similar beliefs, establish an information agency to publicize Negro achievement, to emphasize the positive and the affirmative, to reply to questions, to write letters, to send and to answer open letters to newspapers and editors on policies, programs and news coverage of the

false background types? In fact, without such an agency, this can still be the task and challenge of individuals, branches, citizens, voters, agencies, clubs, civic groups, youths and adults on a voluntary basis, but everybody's business is nobody's business. A resource center or committee is needed as a positive channel for dissemination of accomplishments and achievements and to make replies to inquiries. In lieu of an organized group, we as individuals can do it! The White Citizens Councils are doing it. Why not a positive approach by us?

HIGH ACHIEVEMENT STANDARDS

Fourthly, *let us become inspirers of higher scholarship and achievement on the part of youth.* Parents who are the beneficiaries of a good education and represent a high level occupation or profession and are in stable homes are usually interested in the education of their children. Since the Negro family has suffered from job insecurity, confinement to lower level jobs with salaries and wages more than 30 per cent less on the average than the white family, the problem of the motivation of education and achievement is greater. The respect of children for parents is in jeopardy in these home situations. Likewise, noting how the parents have survived the pressures of the whites, the children sink into an established subordination as an efficient means of survival. Ginsberg in *The Negro Potential* refers to an aspect of this situation when he writes: "It must be remembered that 'dumbness' was a habit developed by many Negroes, especially in the South, to protect them in their daily dealings with whites."

He also adds: "Seeing his elders holding down poor jobs and sensing that the white community takes this for granted, the Negro child is not likely to develop high aspirations for himself. Only as increasing numbers of their own race rise in the world of work, will more young Negroes develop the motivation necessary to prepare themselves properly to compete for better jobs." Nevertheless, there are rich veins of ability and potential achievement in the youth of low income groups. From the "log cabin to the White House," and "out of the slums" are still practical slogans in America which have value for the future of individuals.

It is recognized that there is a new opportunity in American life for those who desire to achieve, for those who think originally and for scholars in scientific pursuits and for those who teach. In the past, at times, these persons have been discounted but there is more opportunity now for the acknowledgement of the youngsters who gain prizes and awards for achievement than ever before in American history. Throughout our land there is a growing demand for excellence in education and in performance. This is posing a challenge to all people who are interested in the advancement of people of color. Let us inspire and motivate achievers and scholars, efficient workers, and courageous initiators. To find, educate, guide, and create the desire to achieve in gifted youth is essential to the advancement of Negro-Americans and to the welfare of the nation.

We shall then march forward as equals in an American democracy, neither as superiors or inferiors, but as men and women of high endeavor, who have engaged in diligent work. There must be, for this goal, self-respect, self-confidence, an inner belief in personal worth and a sense of personal dignity. This is a first freedom to be obtained, a freedom of our inner selves. This must come prior to external freedom through the abandonment of the feeling of inferiority and the development of a belief in self as a Negro-American. Our creed asserts:

"To every man his chance
To every man regardless of his birth,
His shining golden opportunity

To every man the right to live,
To work, to be himself, and to become
Whatever his manhood and his vision
Can combine to make him

This, O seeker, is the promise of America."

This is America's promise and it is still our challenge to triumph over our background, for in our America, background must be no barrier to distinctive achievement.

PAID-IN-FULL *life members of the Cleveland, Ohio, branch: (from L), Crosby Ramey, branch president; Irving Franklin, Jr., chairman membership committee; Mr. and Mrs. Landon O'Neal; and William Hall, stand-in for Augustus, who solicited the O'Neals.*

Cecil Layne

WISDOM AND YOUTH—*Dr. J. M. Tinsley (L) of Richmond, Virginia, a member of the NAACP national board of directors, pauses to chat with Eddie Kaplan of Boston, Massachusetts, whose father, Kivie Kaplan, is also an NAACP board member and co-chairman of the Association's life membership campaign.*

Rev. William Hogans (2nd from L) receives the Mary Nobleton Cordette Brotherhood award from Connecticut Valley, Conn., branch president Ralph Corlette (C). Others in the picture are William Stellmacher, Herbert Browne, Sr., and Mrs. Margaret Ardrey.

Roy Wilkins wishes success to James Rhodes (L), membership chairman and director of the 1959 membership drive of the Des Moines, Iowa, branch. Former branch president Mrs. Clara Bayles is pictured center.

NEW OFFICERS OF THE JERSEY CITY BRANCH—*From L (front row), Mrs. Marcella West, youth council advisor; Mrs. Nora O. Fant, first vice-president; Mrs. Eola Jett, secretary; Mrs. Costella C. Foster, second vice-president; (2nd row), Walter Singleton, treasurer; Attorney Raymond A. Brown, president; and Addison McLeon, third vice-president.—Photo Sinclair Studio*

Looking and Listening . . .

HOUSING DISCRIMINATION

THE Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights reports that twelve complaints have been filed under the new housing law. This law, which became effective last October, forbids discrimination because of race, creed or color in the rental or sale of properties where five or more contiguous units are under the same ownership or control. Similar laws are in effect in Massachusetts, Colorado, Oregon, New York City, and Pittsburgh.

Complaints were received from eleven Negroes and one Puerto Rican. Ten complainants alleged discrimination in attempting to rent and two in buying homes. In six complaints, where the rents ranged from $50 to $145 a month, the Commission effected a satisfactory adjustment and the complainants obtained the apartment. In one instance, the complainant subsequently refused the landlord's offer because she had located another apartment.

The Commission observed that after its representatives had explained the law to the landlords, compliance was prompt. One landlord, who resides out of state, wrote in part, "I can assure you that you will have my full and speedy cooperation in the enforcement of this new statute and my compliance with the letter and spirit of it."

The two complaints alleging discrimination in attempting to buy a house are still under investigation. The houses are in developments, and sell for $15,000 and $23,000. In one of these after the Commission representative saw the developer, he stated that he was willing to sell to any family, regardless of race and he had thought all his sales force was aware of this. Although the complainant alleged that she had been told differently by one of his representatives, he suggested that she visit the property and that she would receive every consideration.

The Commission believes that there will be a marked increase in complaints alleging discrimination in buying property in the spring because real estate sales are always lower in the winter months.

MORE ON HOUSING

THIS item is from *The Interchurch News* (New York City, January, 1960):

The churches are challenged to consider the effect on Christian fellowship of racial discrimination and segregation in housing in a message of the National Council of Churches issued in connection with the 30th annual observance of Race Relations Sunday, on February 14, 1960.

Under the title '. . . love . . . in deed and in truth,' the message says that 'the elimination of racial segregation in housing is essential if the churches are to serve people on a racially inclusive

ELMER A. CARTER *(L), chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, voices his endorsement to U. S. Housing administrator Norman P. Mason (seated R) and urban renewal commissioner David M. Walker of their action in requiring notification to all purchasers of land in urban renewal areas that they must fully comply with state and local laws prohibiting discrimination in housing.*

basis and if Christians are to overcome estrangement as well as to bind up the broken fellowship in our society.'

'In far too many instances,' the message states, 'love is not practiced in the current pattern of racial relationship in this country.'

'We express our love in deeds, as Christians, when we sell or rent property to persons on the basis of their personal preference and financial ability without regard to race. Churches as well as individuals can make their love real when they welcome people as good neighbors regardless of race, and when they use their influence to see that the community guarantees to people the right to acquire property without regard to race.'

The message quotes the 1950 U. S. Census to the effect that '70 per cent of all non-white families lived in dwellings which were dilapidated or had inadequate plumbing. Available evidence seems to indicate that substantially the same situation prevails today.'

"PANIC PEDDLERS"

COMMUNITY (Chicago, January, 1960) explains how fear techniques are used by unscrupulous Chicago real estate dealers to create neighborhood turnovers and real estate booms. The *Community* piece is a summary of a recent series of articles published by the *Chicago Daily News*. Here are excerpts from this summary:

The Chatham neighborhood in the fall of 1958 was vainly trying to 'hold the line' at 79th and Cottage. It was tense, jittery and unwilling to accept Negroes. Whites began to be hounded day and night to sell.

One of the first to succumb was Harry Mentsch, who owned a three room flat at 8222 South Maryland, purchased in 1957. Says Menstch, 'Phone callers started to annoy us, morning, noon and night. They said different buildings had already been sold to Negroes and others would go so we'd better sell now to get our price. Sometimes, Negroes would drive up and point out a nearby building. Or they'd go around taking notes. I'd say someone put on a good scare campaign.'

Mentsch finally sold last December to George A. Gaines, a Negro who had no idea of Mentsch's trouble. Mentsch bought for $28,500 and sold for a few thousand more, which hardly covered the repairs put in. But, notes the *Daily News*, the building even without improvements might bring about $38,000 now if resold.

The chicanery of one Benjamin Klein, 134 North LaSalle, who began working the neighborhood about 10 months before it started to turn can be seen in the way Klein dealt with three apartment houses he purchased on South Maryland. The sellers in all three instances thought they were selling to whites—in one case a man who said he was a policeman was brought in as the buyer. But ownership was quickly hidden in secret land trusts at the Cosmopolitan National Bank. And within a year they were in the hands of Negroes at a price markup on the record of about $32,000.

Three sisters purchased the three-room flat at 8216 South Maryland for $37,500. It had been sold for $26,500 before being put into trust. Monthly expenses, including payment on a $7,500 second mortgage, are $202 on the first mortgage and $75 on the second. The terms are such that the seller can take the building back if there is a default on the second mortgage.

When questioned, the Attorney representing the trust commented, 'No one put a gun to their heads. They didn't have to buy.'

The three buildings, purchased through Klein, had been gotten for $82,000, $72,000 of which was gained from mortgages with the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America. Klein insists that he never acquired any of the buildings himself, and that his profit was only 50 per cent of the second mortgages, totalling $19,000.

Residents of Chatham report all sorts of annoyances. One family reported 15 telephone calls in a night—all of the zombie type — complete silence, or a hissing sound, or a breathing and a crackling in the phone. Real estate calls came constantly, varying in pressure, and asking to buy property.

One owner of a six-flat displays 93 calling cards left by salesmen out to buy his flat—some of them representing reputable firms. Real estate companies, like the Unlimited Realty Company of 354 East 79th Street, heighten fears. They, for example, sent out a letter accenting the rendering of civic duty in selling to people driven from their homes by slum clearance. Others, sending out 'not for sale' cards and

encouraging people not to sell, follow up with a 'we'll be on hand if and when you plan to sell.' Door to door salesmen, constantly at hand, try to buy property at panic prices. All of these together and you have an alarmed community.

There are other gems in the bag of tricks perpetrated to intimidate neighborhoods into flight. Subterfuge and accident work together: fake 'sold' signs are put up; a teen-age Negro couple walks up the street and an alarm goes out; several toughs in an alley put on a phoney fight; pursesnatchings happen in such a way that police ask, 'Was it coincidence or was it staged?'. After a time, residents say, 'even if you don't want to sell, you get tired of the commotion—and you sell.'

First the fearful whites move. Then others tend to follow. George J. Murphy, president of the Chatham Improvement Association points out: 'Probably the worst busting is carried out by outfits and speculators not connected with any reputable real-estate board. Once the neighborhood is openly broken, everyone seems to join the scramble. . . .'

RACE RELATIONS

A TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE report (*Race Relations in the South—1959*) summarizes race relations in the South, during 1959, as follows:

Race relations in the South [As used here, the South includes the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which practiced legal segregation in education before 1954.] did not change appreciably during 1959. Despite the urgency of America's aspiration to promote peace, which was highlighted by President Eisenhower's late December visits to several world capitals, there was —on balance—little compelling evidence that America itself was able, during 1959, to advance human understanding significantly within its own boundaries.

Efforts to remove barriers structured in segregation continued despite adamant opposition in some areas of the southern region. In sum, the year showed further legal support and economically based rationalization for public desegregation, limited extension of desegregation practices, successful action by many state and local governments to avoid desegregation, and a hesitancy by America's citizens to face the moral implications of continued segregation.

The principle of desegregation in public situations was reinforced; and a few instances of additional desegregation were noted, both in schools and in other public situations. With an occasional exception, federal and state court decisions, as well as the administrative and investigative actions of federal agencies, supported the principle of desegregation and sought its implementation. A major contribution was the work of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

Varied and extensive activities of voluntary agencies reflected the widespread concern of individual citizens for the real—and sometimes imagined —consequences of desegregation in public affairs and services, and particularly the public schools. Rarely, however, did these organizations include both white and Negro membership; and, for this reason, their activities frequently tended to crystallize preconceived opinions rather than lead to acceptable resolution of the issues for both groups.

Although there were a few striking exceptions, most public officials in the South, by their comments and public actions, delayed desegregation and discouraged inter-group discussion of community issues. This influence often prevented any 'grass roots' development of joint efforts by whites and Negroes to

deal constructively with particular desegregation issues in the light of local conditions and resources. The continuing difficulty experienced by Negroes in acquiring the ballot was a major reason for failure of many public officials to recognize and support the interests of the total citizenry, particularly disfranchised Negroes.

Mass communication media, viewed as a whole, reported and commented extensively on desegregation and tended to highlight the arguments for segregation, either directly or by implication. A variety of constructive community services by Negroes and their organizations remained largely unreported; and, as a consequence, the general public tended to form opinions of the citizenship role of the Negro based upon the often sensational and negative reports disseminated by the mass media. . . .

Several church and other groups sought to identify and respond to the moral issue around which the desegregation question swirled, but there were no momentous accomplishments. A general uneasiness seemed to prevail among many individuals and organizations that the values associated with democratic and Christian living were not sufficiently influential in the nation's life, for whatever the reason. . . .

ACTORS' EQUITY

ACTORS' Equity Association's Committee on the Integration of the Negro in the Theatre, chaired by Frederick O'Neal, has changed its name. Hereafter it will be designated as the Special Committee for Ethnic Minorities in the Theatre. Acting on a suggestion by Councillor Ralph Lowe, the committee recommended the change of name to Council, which action was approved on January 19.

One of the bright facets of the past season has been the production of several shows utilizing services of many Oriental members. Mr. O'Neal expressed optimism with regard to the coming season, noting that two forthcoming shows, "The Long Dream" and "Cool World," may employ as many as sixty Negro members. He also called attention to "Shakespeare in Harlem," an all-Negro production scheduled for Off-Broadway.

In keeping with Equity's policy of furthering theatrical integration, the statement adopted by the governing boards of Actors' Equity Association, the Dramatists' Guild and the League of New York Theatres was reaffirmed again this season.

ANNUAL CIP AWARD

REV. John La Farge, S. J., author, editor and leader in the Catholic interracial movement, has been chosen the recipient of the annual Catholic Institute of the Press award "for substantial contributions to the advancement of Catholic principles in the field of communications."

Father La Farge received the CIP award on February 7 at the organization's annual communion breakfast in the Roosevelt Hotel.

The Jesuit priest is associate editor of *America* magazine and was its editor-in-chief from 1944 to 1948. He has been a contributor to its pages for thirty-three years.

Father La Farge is the author of several books including *The Manner is Ordinary* and *An American, Amen.* He founded the Catholic Interracial Council in New York in 1924 and

continues active in its program.

This year Father La Farge celebrated the fifty-fifth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood and marked his eightieth birthday on February 13, one week after he received the CIP award.

Father La Farge is the first religious to receive the award. Prior to this year only laymen were eligible, but the special awards committee, acting on nominations from the membership, voted to make the award to Father La Farge for his long and prominent career. Rev. Albert J. Nevins, M. M., editor of *The Maryknoll Magazine*, served as chairman of the awards committee.

The Catholic Institute of the Press is an organization of Catholic men and women in the field of communications. The group's moderator is Very Rev. Timothy J. Flynn, of the New York Archdiocesan Office.

Charles Morehead, Sr., life membership chairman, New Britain, Conn., branch, presents the branch's president Clifford J. Willis (R) an NAACP life membership plaque. The branch has increased its membership 150 per cent, contributed $400 to the freedom fund, and added five life members.

Mrs. Manuel Wiseman makes final $200 payment on her NAACP life membership to Mrs. Tillmon Wilson of the Alton, Illinois, branch. Mrs. Wiseman is the branch's first fully-paid life member.

Rev. J. S. Brock (R), moderator of the Youghieny Baptist Association, takes out a $5 NAACP membership in the Cardale, Pa., branch through acting branch president A. L. Hall. Membership was gift of the Baptist Association.

Mrs. Ethel James (center) presents a check for an NAACP life membership on behalf of the Tampa, Florida, Beautician's Unit No. 1 to Atty. John Culbertson of Greensville, S.C., who spoke at a membership meeting of the Tampa branch.

Dr. P. P. Creuzot (center), chairman life membership committee, New Orleans, La., branch, presents NAACP life membership plaques to Edward Shannon (2nd from L) and Emile Soupene. Others pictured are Rev. John B. Morris (L) and Arthur J. Chapital, Sr.

Henry W. Danner

REV. LOUIS HOLLIDAY, *associate pastor of the Victory Baptist Church, Bronx, N. Y., presents a check for $1,000 to executive secretary Roy Wilkins (R) for two NAACP life memberships. The Rev. Mr. Holliday was chairman of the fund-raising committee which raised the funds in six weeks.*

Richard A. Martin

PRESIDENT JOSEPH OVERTON *of the Manhattan branch, N. Y., receives a $250 payment on JUGG's NAACP life membership from president Esmay Cox.*

JERSEY CITY YOUTH COUNCIL *officers—Front from L, Minnie Sconion, corresponding secretary; Gloria DeBarry, recording secretary; Rosemary Sideboard, financial secretary; Milliard Lathrop, president; (2nd row), Rev. John Davis, vice-president; Mrs. Marcella West, advisor; and McLester McKee, treasurer.*

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Editorials

LUNCH COUNTER JIM CROW

NEGRO students in the South are justifiably in revolt against lunch-counter jim crow. To deny an American citizen access to a public lunch counter is senseless and demeaning. A Negro may patronize all the counters in national variety chains like Woolworth's, Grant's or Kress', but not the lunch counter or the soda fountain. In some places, he is allowed to eat at the lunch counter, but only if he stands. The moment he "sets" there is trouble, for the Southern white believes that seated Negroes are attempting to practice "social equality."

Whether he is educated or uneducated, whether he is rich or poor, the Negro knows very well the meaning of jim crow. For him it is ever present, an obscene daily reality. Even when intangible, he finds it dispersed through the whole atmosphere of the South. The Negro cannot eat a "hot dog" at a public lunch counter. He cannot eat a T-bone steak in a restaurant. He cannot drink a cup of coffee in a cafe. He cannot straw-sip a Coca-Cola at a soda bar. He cannot drink a Bromo-Seltzer for his headache in a drug store. He cannot eat his sandwich "in" even at a "greasy spoon"; he must take it "out." Whenever and wherever he tries to use a public eating facility he is faced with the bewilderment and the pain of refusal. He has to put up with the insolence of white waiters and clerks and managers. These are galling grievances. He is set apart. And though he may be thrifty, intelligent, and law-abiding, he is not allowed to live or work or play as others.

MASS Negro protests against these intolerable conditions began in Montgomery, Alabama, in December, 1955, with the famous Montgomery bus strike. Negro students in five southern states—Virginia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, and Florida—are continuing these mass protests against segregation in the form of "sit-in strikes," which were originated by NAACP youth members. The "sit-in strike" was first used by members of the Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, youth council in August, 1958, against national variety stores in that city. Despite provocations to violence the youths maintained their dignity and self-control and won their fight. As a result lunch counters in variety and drugstores in Oklahoma City are now open to all.

Those Americans who genuinely believe in democracy for all should support these young people in every way possible. The NAACP has already called upon its branches to support them. And the Association has notified

all branch leaders that these young people "have the cooperation and support of the NAACP, for they are legitimate expressions of citizens in a democracy." Furthermore, the NAACP stands ready "to defend, upon request, any of the young people who may become involved with the police or in court action as a result of their participation in this movement."

RACIAL INTERMARRIAGE

IT required courage for the editors of *Social Progress* (published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Education of The United States Presbyterian Church in the United States of America) to devote their February issue to a symposium on racial intermarriage, a subject which, in the vernacular, is a "hot potato." A subject of concern to many whites who are not segregationists, and an obsessive bugaboo with all segregationists, interracial marriage has never been of concern to Negroes.

The SEA staff summarizes the marriage issue in this way:

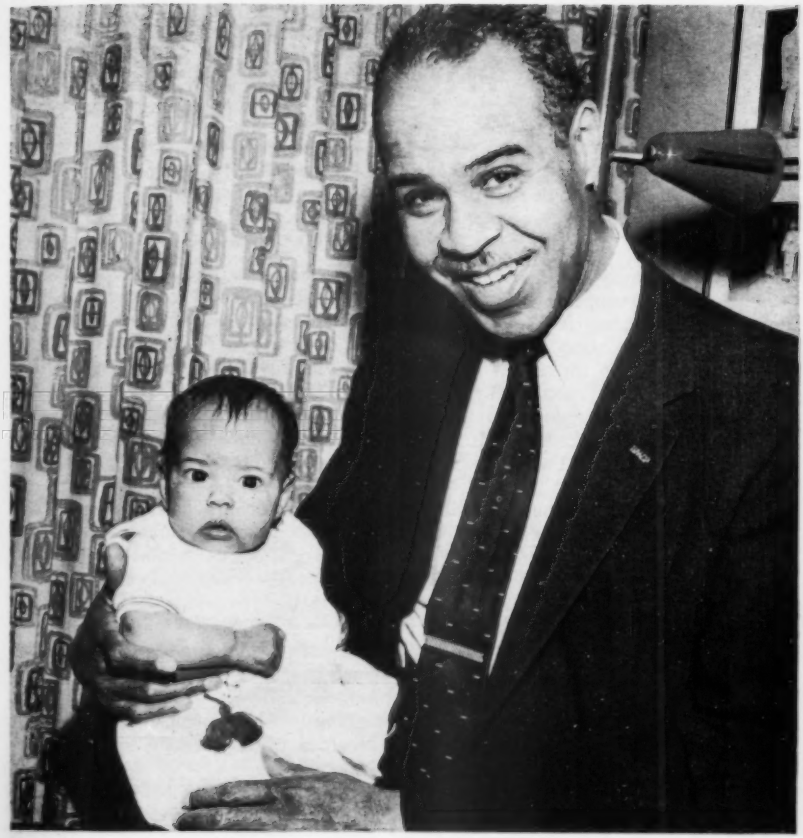
> On few issues is there so much heat and so little light. Yet the problem of intermarriage nearly always comes up when desegregation is earnestly and openly discussed, and even when the question is not actually raised, it lurks unspoken in the minds and hearts of many persons sincerely and positively concerned about race relations. When the meeting breaks up, the issue often arises in private conversations. And when it is brought out into the open, persons frequently gravitate toward one of three camps—the hotly opposed, the vehement defenders, and the inarticulately uncomfortable. Nearly everyone ends up with a stomach-ache.

THE concensus of opinion, of both clergy and laity, North and South, is that Christian commitment does not preclude racial intermarriage; although John H. Marion feels that "in our present social climate, any Negro-white intermarriage as such would usually be imprudent." J. Metz Rollins, Jr., says he has "nothing against my daughter marrying a white man because I do not fear the 'bogeyman race-mixing.' " He feels it a matter of personal choice. John R. Bodo says it would depend on the man, not his race. Edler G. Hawkins remarks that the question posed by "racial intermarriage accurately anticipates . . . the recognition of the full humanity of the Negro, the fact of man's oneness under God." "Let's face it," warns Paul S. Wright "—the social climate of our country being what it is, and my personal life being so inextricably involved in it, I should not want my daughter to marry a Negro. . . ." Richard Siciliano writes: "It is my guess that advances in human relations will lead to more integration, and this inclusiveness will lead to more mixed marriages—and I think this is good."

What we need is much more open and objective discussion of this type. Racial intermarriage is an inflammable topic because the issues are seldom objectively discussed in the public prints. When seen in perspective it is not an issue at all. And *Social Progress* is to be congratulated for bringing it out into the open.

Carter Ware

DR. H. H. HOLT *is presented with his NAACP life membership plaque by Paterson, N. J., branch president, Arthur Holloway (L), in the presence of branch life membership chairman, Maceo Hurst.*



Cecil Layne

YOUNGEST NAACP LIFE MEMBER *visits national headquarters and pays more attention to camera than to grand uncle, Roy Wilkins. Little Amy Tyler Wilkins, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Roger Wilkins, was just over three months of age when her father made her the first paid-up junior life member of 1960. Her father and mother are University of Michigan graduates who now live in New York City where Mr. Wilkins practices law.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

VOTING RIGHTS

THE United States Supreme Court has been asked to review a circuit court of appeals judgment affirming a district court opinion that the federal judiciary has no authority to invalidate an Alabama act which in effect disfranchised practically all the Negro voters in Tuskegee.

A petition for review of the case was filed with the Supreme Court in Washington on January 30 on behalf of Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, and others. Representing Dr. Gomillion and his associates were Robert L. Carter of New York City, NAACP general counsel; Fred D. Gray, Montgomery; and Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham.

Tuskegee Negroes were, in effect, disfranchised in local elections by an Alabama law authorizing a fantastic gerrymander which excluded from the incorporated city "substantially all of its Negro residents and voters, and no other residents or voters." Some 400 voters were thus deprived of the right to participate in local elections. Within the city limits there remained 600 white and only five Negro voters.

May a state, the petition asks, enact such a measure "without contravening the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States where the alteration produces a highly irregular geographic ouline, and is not thus far shown or suggested to have been based upon any consideration other than to deprive Negroes of the benefits of residence within the city limits?"

Prior to the gerrymander, the map of Tuskegee was in the shape of a square; afterwards, it was an irregular 28-sided figure resembling a "sea dragon," the petition points out.

Through Dr. Gomillion, Negro citizens challenged the constitutionality of this statute in the federal district court, charging that its purpose and effect was to disfranchise the city's Negro voters. The complaint was dismissed on the ground that the court "has no control over, no supervision over, and no power to change any boundaries of municipal corporations fixed by a duly convened and elected legislative body, acting for the people in the State of Alabama."

On appeal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, this judgment was affirmed by two of the three judges who heard the case.

In his dissenting opinion, Judge Brown noted that "In Macon county,

of which Tuskegee is a geographical party, neither the Constitution nor Congress nor the courts are thus far able to assure Negro voters of this basic right. That this has occurred demonstrates, I think, that the Fifteenth Amendment contemplated a judicial enforcement of its guaranties against either crude or sophisticated action of states seeking to subvert this new right."

Further, the jurist asserted: "If a court may strike down a law which with brazen frankness expressly purposes a rank discrimination for race, it has—and must have—the same power to pierce the veil of sham and, in that process, judicially ascertain whether there is a proper, rather than an unconstitutional, purpose for the act in question."

ARKANSAS TEACHERS LAW

AN Arkansas law requiring public-school teachers to list all their organizational affiliations will be subjected to the scrutiny of the United States Supreme Court. In response to an appeal filed on November 23, 1959, by attorneys of the NAACP, on behalf of B. T. Shelton, a school teacher, and the Arkansas Teachers Association, the Court agreed on January 25 to review a lower court judgment upholding the validity of the statute.

Through Robert L. Carter, NAACP general counsel, of New York City, and J. R. Booker and Thad Williams of Little Rock, Mr. Shelton and the Teachers Association contended that the Arkansas law was designed to cripple the NAACP and is in violation of the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

The statement as to jurisdiction filed with the Supreme Court raised the question as to whether a state may require public school teachers to file affidavits listing all of the organizations to which they have belonged or contributed for the last five years "without contravening those safeguards to academic freedom and freedom of association protected against state interference by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

Despite his 25 years of service, Mr. Shelton, a longtime NAACP member, was dismissed last May 5 because he refused to sign the required affidavit. No complaint had been made about his teaching and his annual contract had been renewed the previous May before enactment of the statute in August, 1958.

CUT IN DIXIE REPRESENTATION SUGGESTED

ROY WILKINS, speaking on "Freedom, Franchise, and Segregation," at a forum celebrating the centennial of the founding of Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, New York City, said that "if the South remains stubborn on Negro disfranchisement, disadvantaged northern states ought to insist on a cut in Congressional representation" from southern states denying Negro voting rights.

NAACP FOR LIFE—*Roy Wilkins (C) presents NAACP life membership plaque to staff representatives of the Harlem Welfare Center, New York City Department of Welfare. From L, Mrs. Vivian Sadler, Isadore Gosian, Mrs. Gertrude Bolden, assistant director; Mrs. Megan Jackson, and Gertrude Wana Singhe. The Harlem Welfare Center raised a total of $2115 for the NAACP.*

"This step would decrease Dixie House members by twenty to twenty-five per cent and clothe them, so to speak, in the proper size britches," Mr. Wilkins added.

Mr. Wilkins spoke in the same Great Hall that housed the mass meeting of fifty-one years ago that helped bring the NAACP into being. It is also the hall in which Abraham Lincoln made his famous address on February 27, 1859, vindicating the principles of the new Republican party.

He pointed out that disfranchisement of citizens of both races allows Southern congressmen and senators to be elected and re-elected through their one-party system.

Their resulting "seniority gives them a disproportionately powerful influence on the nation's legislative business," Mr. Wilkins said.

"When the Democratic party is in control of Congress, they become

chairmen of most of the committees, as they are in this session.

"Not content with protecting their own brand of *apartheid* back home, they are not hesitant to demand extention of their racial philosophy and practices to the rest of the nation."

"In general," Secretary Wilkins continued, "the Negro tends to vote according to his interest as a citizen and only secondarily (barring a hot racial issue) as a Negro.

"Negro citizens are interested in national defense, foreign affairs, taxes, health and welfare, cost of living, education, jobs and wages, as are other Americans.

"They are also interested in civil rights, in attacking prejudice and bigotry in American life."

As of today, he asserted, "no one can predict exactly what the Negro voter will do on election day." However, "he does not like much of what he sees in the behavior of either party."

He reported that "only five southern states still retain the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting—Virginia, Alabama, Arkansas, Texas and Mississippi.

"But," he added, "other devices are effective in barring Negro citizens from the ballot box.

"No wonder," Secretary Wilkins added, "that on a south-wide basis, only 25 per cent of the Negro citizens of voting age are registered."

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

THE Metropolitan AME Church of Washington, D. C., is the 336th church to participate in the NAACP life membership program. Rev. G. Dewey Robinson presented the church's $500 check to Rev. Edward J. Odom, Jr., NAACP church secretary, at a special ceremony. Of the total NAACP church life members, 121 signed up during 1959.

The drive among churches for life memberships was sparked by the Rev. Dr. J. Raymond Henderson, pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Los Angeles, California, who spearheaded an NAACP 50th anniversary church-fund-raising project across the nation which raised more than $45,000 for the NAACP.

THE Brooklyn chapter of the Guardsmen has become the first of eleven units of the national organization to take out an NAACP life membership.

Presentation of the $500 check was made in the Association's national office by Frank Bizzell, president of the local unit, to Dr. Robert C. Weaver, chairman of the Association's national board.

The Guardsmen passed a resolution during their national convention last June calling upon each chapter to become an NAACP life member within a two-year period.

Other Guardsmen chapters are located in Atlanta, Baltimore, New York City (Manhattan), Philadelphia, Washington, Richmond, Norfolk, Newark, and the states of Connecticut and North Carolina.

OUTSTANDING BRANCH WORKER *Mrs. Alto Herndon, treasurer of the Des Moines, Iowa, branch of the NAACP receives her NAACP life membership plaque from Ike Smalls, NAACP vice-president.*

Cecil Layne

WELFARE DEPARTMENT STILL CONTRIBUTES—*Lillian Zerwick presents initial payment on an NAACP life membership for the Amsterdam Welfare Center, New York City, to Jackie Robinson, co-chairman of the Association's life membership campaign. Eight New York City Department of Welfare units have, to date, participated in the NAACP's life membership campaign.*

Carter Ware

INITIAL LIFE PAYMENTS—*At a recent meeting of the Paterson, N. J., branch Arthur Holloway (L), branch president, and Maceo Hurst, chairman branch life membership committee, made initial payments on their NAACP life memberships to Mrs. Ann Cato.*

CARTER W. WESLEY, president and publisher of the *Houston Informer*, has enrolled as an NAACP life member.

Mr. Wesley joins a growing list of editors, publishers and publications supporting the NAACP through $500 life memberships. This movement was initiated in 1934 when the Afro-American Newspapers of Baltimore became the first publication to become an NAACP life member. Later, in 1955, Carl Murphy, president and editor of the Afo chain, enrolled as a life member of the Association.

W. O. Walker, president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association and editor of the *Cleveland Call and Post* became a life member of the Association in 1959.

The New York Amsterdam News, the New York Amsterdam News Welfare Fund, and Dr. C. B. Powell, president and editor of the publication, are all life members. Likewise, C. C. Dejoie of New Orleans and the Louisiana Weekly Publishing Company which he heads are both life members.

Others in the distinguished list include the Norfolk *Journal and Guide;* Louis E. Martin of the *Michigan Chronicle* and the *Chicago Defender;* Mrs. Jessie Vann and Mrs. Daisy Lampkin of the *Pitsburgh Courier;* Mrs. Daisy Bates of the now defunct *Arkansas State Press;* Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City *Black Dispatch;* Alger L. Adams, *Westchester County Press;* John H. Johnson, *Ebony* and other Johnson publications; and the New York Post Foundation.

BACK IN BUSINESS

ROY WILKINS has notified the NAACP's Louisiana State Conference of Branches to "immediately revive all activity and take up where it left off last October."

Mr. Wilkins termed a three-judge federal court ruling on February 6, restoring the NAACP to operation in Louisiana, "a vindication of the Association's view that its program is just, necessary and supported by the U.S. Constitution."

A temporary injunction forbidding all organizational activity was issued against the Louisiana State Conference of NAACP branches on October 9. Such an injunction had been called for by State Senator Willie Rainach, then a candidate for the Louisiana governorship.

Mrs. Doretha A. Combre, president of the Louisiana NAACP, said at the time that Rainach was making a desperate bid for anti-Negro white votes. Rainach ran a poor third in a field of eleven candidates. He is also president of the Louisiana White Citizens Councils.

The NAACP is currently spearheading a drive to secure 2,500,000 additional Negro voters in southern states before the November presidential election.

Secretary Wilkins told Mrs. Combre in a letter, dispatched February 11, that NAACP members throughout Louisiana "are now free to go ahead

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING *chats with Mrs. Clara Bayles, former president of the Des Moines, Iowa, branch at the branch's golden anniversary celebration.*

with the Association's program of eliminating racial segregation and discrimination.

"You are free to step up registration and voting activities," Mr. Wilkins asserted, "for use of the ballot can help bring about more speedily a change in attitudes for entrenched political forces which have attempted to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of Negroes for freedom and equality.

"We are hopeful that our Louisiana branches will push ahead on every front enrolling more members and financial support, seeking to complete desegregation of schools, and working for enjoyment of public accommodations and all other rights to which they are entitled under the Constitution and laws of the United States of America."

Mr. Wilkins stressed that NAACP "membership lists do not have to be turned over to the state or made public. The ruling of the courts in the Louisiana and Alabama cases is clear on this point."

Joseph B. Smith, exalted ruler Ancient City Lodge #175 (IBPOE of W), Annapolis, Md., receives NAACP life membership for his lodge from Arundel County, Md., branch president Mrs. Joseph Hardesty. Pictured, rear, (from L) are lodge brothers Charles Davage, Oliver McNeil, and Carter Brown.

Cleveland, Ohio, branch awards go to I. C. Webb (2nd from L) and Pearl Mitchell, for bringing in largest number of members. At L and R, respectively, are branch president Crosby Ramey and Irving Franklin, Jr., chairman membership committee

What the Branches Are Doing

Illinois: New officers and board members of the CHICAGO branch appeared before the branch membership in January, the first time since their election.

Iowa: The DES MOINES branch presented the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., at the University Christian Church on November 12, 1959.

Mrs. Clara Bayles, who has served the Des Moines branch as president for the past three years, declined to run for a fourth term. She is the first woman to serve the branch as president for a three-year period.

Minnesota: Leonard H. Carter, newly-appointed regional secretary of the NAACP and retiring-persident of the ST. PAUL branch, was honored by his friends at a testimonial tea on December 20.

The tea was arranged by George Holland, Mrs. Janet Butler, and Mrs. Allie Mae Hampton.

Carl L. Weschcke, president of the Minessota state conference, has announced appointments of William C. Canby, Jr., and George Holland, as chairmen of the legal redress committee and the finance committee respectively.

MEMBERS *of the Indianapolis, Indiana, youth council bring greetings and hospitality to Mr. and Mrs. John Christmon whose family has been harassed, threatened, and intimidated because they dared move into a white neighborhood. Mrs. Christmon stands at left with back to camera handing tree decoration to council president William Hardy.*

Henry Danner

LIFE MEMBERSHIP PLAQUES *are presented to two Bronx citizens, Rev. George L. Payne (2nd from L), pastor, and Norfleet Whitted, chairman of trustee board, Victoria Baptist Church. At left and right are Judges Louis Peck and* Walter Gladwin.

Cecil Layne

MASS RALLY MONEY—*Roy Wilkins (C), NAACP executive secretary, receives a check for $1,100 from officers of the Federation of Negro Civil Service Employees. At left is Norman E. Saunders, president FNCSE; at right, Lt. William Bracey. The money was raised at a recent rally for NAACP and Southern Christian Leadership Conference at New York City's Manhattan Center.*

Newly-elected St. Paul branch president Mrs. Addie C. Few announces appointment of the following committee chairmen:

Finance, Robert Patterson; community coordination, George Holland; press and publicity, Carl Weschcke; legal redress, Robert Patterson; education, Rev. Denzil Carty; legislation, Mrs. Jane Preston; labor, Anthony Sandys, and Mrs. Allie Mae Hampton; veterans, John Brown; housing, timothy Howard; entertainment, Mrs. Ethel Richburg and Mrs. Ceclia Williams; youth, Mrs. Beatrice Bailey; church work; Rev. Kneely Williams; auditing committee, Arthur Sternberg; life membership, Mrs. Lilliam Balenger and Carl Winn; senior youth advisor, Mrs. Earline Estes; and Leonard Carter, Donald Lewis, and Carl Weschcke, co-chairmen 1960 NAACP national convention committee. Norman Bell and Norman are heads of the 1960 3,000-membership drive.

Nevada: New officers of the RENO-SPARKS branch are William Bailey, Sr., president; Joe Williams, vice-president; Mrs. Ulysses Woodard, secretary; Mrs. Alice Smith, treasurer; and of the executive committee-at-large, Mrs. Clara Fells, Mrs. Elizabeth Bailey, Mrs. Rossie Collier, Mrs. Elena Gibson, Mrs. Ruth Jones, and Ulysses Woodard.

New York: Dr. George Nicklin of Westbury is the third fully-paid-life member of the NAACP in the CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch.

In a program called "Victory's Salute to Freedom," the Victory Baptist church of the Bronx, and its pastor, the Rev. Dr. George L. Payne, were presented NAACP life memberships after an intensive three-week campaign by the church's twenty-seven organizations in a membership drive spear-headed by associate pastor Rev. Louis Holliday.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, who was guest speaker, had high praise for Victory and its many contributions to the cause of NAACP.

He pointed out how Victory had twice received the gold trophy award presented by the Bronx branch to the organization which enlists the largest number of members during branch membership drives of the past two years.

JOHN RAGLIN, *chairman of the life membership committee of the Willow Grove, Pa., branch makes $150 initial payment on his branch's NAACP life membership to Mrs. Margurite Belafonte at local 50th anniversary freedom fund dinner-dance.*

Cecil Layne

NEW NAACP OFFICERS—*Jackie Robinson (L), member of the NAACP board of directors, installs newly elected officers New York City Department of Welfare unit. From left they are Felix Spinoza, second vice-president; Rhetia Zeitin, treasurer; James Dumpson, commissioner of welfare, observer; Mary Lesson, president; Floyd Patterson, first vice-president; Mrs. Vivian Sadler, secretary; and Mrs. Lucille Delfyette, assistant secretary.*

Wilkins thanked the church for having exceeded its pledge of $200 during the recent NAACP 50th anniversary convention, then going on to raise an additional $1,000 for two life memberships.

He singled out church worker, Mrs. Edna Dickenson, who has long aided the NAACP, but put forth special efforts in the past three months and recruited 71 members—during the church's life membership drive.

The check for $1,000 was presented to Wilkins by Rev. Holliday, who extended his thanks to State Conference life membership chairman Dennis Coleman, Atty, Lydia Wilson and Louise Gadson, all officers of the Bronx branch, for their help in the drive.

Serving as master of ceremonies of the program was radio commentator George W. Goodman, who was introduced by Assemblyman Ivan Warner.

Mrs. Bessie Jones, secretary of the church, traced its history to 1942, when Dr. Payne purchased the edifice for $35,000. It has recently been estimated at $75,000, has 1,450 members and has 27 working organizations.

Roy Wilkins was introduced by Bronx Councilman David Ross, while municipal court justice Louis Peck presented the plaque to Rev. Payne, after a telegram from the Rev. Dr. Sandy F. Ray was read, expressing his regrets that he was unable to attend.

Magistrate Walter H. Gladwin made the presentation of the plaque to trustee board chairman Norfleet Whitted, who accepted for the church.

Members of the salute committee, chaired by Rev. Holliday, were A. Curtis, co-chairman; Mrs. O. Sullivan, secretary; W. Atkinson, and Mrs. A. Baxter, treasurers and Mrs. A. Harris, publicity chairman.

UNION BAPTIST CHURCH *of Orange, N. J., is the first church in suburban Essex county to take out an NAACP life membership. Dr. Everett B. Simmons (2nd from L), president of the Oranges-Maplewood branch and a member of the church, presents a $500 check to Rev. J. E. Odom, church secretary of the NAACP. Church pastor Dr. Vance McIver (L) and F. Isom (R), president of Men's Fellowship, look on.*

Russ Carter

College and School News

Dr. F. D. Patterson, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was keynote speaker at the third annual Public Relations Institute held at JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY, January 22-23. The institute theme this year was "Student-Alumni in college public relations and development."

■

Dr. Paul F. Hahn, director of Cancer Research Laboratories, represented MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE at the dedication ceremonies for the new Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies' $250,000 administration building.

■

Outstanding VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY senior Gilbert Irving Coleman appeared as a panel member on the ABC-TV network program "College News Conference" on January 17. Mr. Coleman appeared with four other students from American colleges on a panel which interviewed Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana.

The board of directors of the Lilly Foundation, Inc., made a grant of $33,000 to the university in order that the VUU school of religion may sponsor a ministers' summer seminar for three consecutive years, beginning with the summer of 1960.

Dr. Carney Hargroves, minister of the Second Baptist Church of Germantown. Pa., and an official of the American Baptist Convention, was the fifteenth religious convocation speaker on January 21.

President Samuel Proctor participated in the United Christian Preaching Mission held in Knoxville, Tenn., January 17-22.

Lester Banks, executive secretary of the Virginia state conference of NAACP branches, was student assembly speaker on January 5.

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DIRECTOR of ADMISSIONS and PLACEMENT

Annual founders' day exercises were held at VUU on February 12, with Dr. Charles H. Thompson, dean of the graduate school at Howard, and himself a VUU graduate in the class of '17, as the principal speaker.

■

VIRGINA STATE COLLEGE announces a Summer Institute for High School Teachers of General Science, sponsored by The National Science Foundation, to be held June 20-August 12. The purpose of the institute is to improve the teaching of general science in junior and senior high schools. The NSF has awarded VSC a grant of $96,000 to run the institute.

The VSC Symphonic Band was presented in concert in the college auditorium on January 17. The band is directed by Dr. F. Nathaniel Gatlin, head of the VSC department of music, and as a concert organization has appeared throughout five southern states.

■

New stars shone in the man-made sky of THE AMERICAN MUSEUM-HAYDEN PLANETARIUM on January 30 when the first new-model Zeiss projector in the USA was set in motion for its premiere sky presentation.

The instrument, which weighs two and a half tons and stands nearly seventeen feet above the floor of the Planetarium's Sky Theater, was designed and constructed by the firm of Carl Zeiss in Oberkochen, West Germany. It arrived by ship in New York in December, and its installation necessitated the closing of the Planetarium from January 4 to 29. During this period, Planetarium technicians worked with a team of Zeiss engineers and technicians from Oberkochen on an around-the-clock daily schedule to assemble and to adjust the instrument.

The world of primitive man, as experienced and analyzed by three distinguished anthropologists, is being explored in an eight-week lecture series, "Primitives Peoples Today," by the Evening School for Adults at the AMNH. The course began on February 17.

Eskimos past and present, stone-age natives of central Brazil, and ancient and modern Mayas are the subjects of the first three lectures. Lecturers in the series are Dr. Edward M. Weyer, Colin M. Turnbull, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole.

■

The ATALANTA UNIVERITY collection of contemporary art reopened to the public on January 10 in the Trevor Arnett Library.

The collection contains some thirty-five works of contemporary American artists, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey Waddell of New York, augmented by forty paintings, prints, and sculptures chosen from the university's permanent collection of works by Negro artists.

The AU center town meeting reviewed the progress of civil-rights during 1959. Speakers were Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeastern director of the NAACP, Atty. James W. Hawkins of Atlanta, and Gloria Watts, a Spelman senior.

President Willa B. Player of Bennett was convocation speaker at the university center on January 24.

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May Sarton, the distinguished poet-novelist and Danforth visiting lecturer, lectured at SPELMAN COLLEGE on January 8. She also met with English majors and with students in American literature while visiting on the campus. Miss Sarton is the daughter of the late Belgian historian of science, George Sarton, and of an English mother, Mabel Ewes Sarton.

■

Fourteen MORGAN STATE COLLEGE students, eleven of them ranking honor scholars, have been selected for citation in the 1959-1960 edition of *Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges.*

Morgan won seven of eight debates and scored 317 points to win its own debate tournament in January, thus nosing out second-place St. John's University of Brooklyn. Seventeen schools competed in the tournament, with American University finishing third with a 7-1 record and 298 points.

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, sociologist, evoked ringing laughter, heated indignation, and thundering applause when he told the Morgan faculty about his book, *The Black Bourgeoisie.* He said he wrote his book to describe a "social process, not to expose any secrets."

Here are some of the essential points Dr. Frazier made in his analysis:

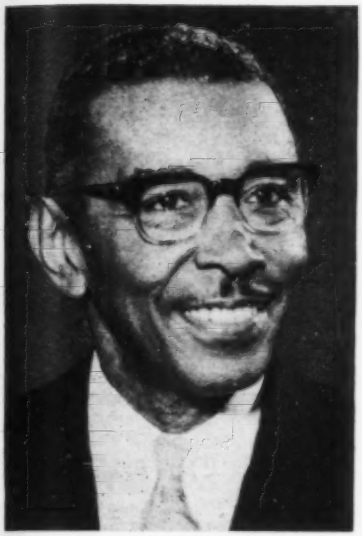
• There *is* a new Negro middle class, unlike any other middle class, that has come about by the "rapid differentiation of the Negro population caused by migration to cities." This middle class constitutes about 25 per cent of the northern and western colored population and about 12 per cent of the southern colored population.

• This new class is a "bastard class," the queer mixture of the "peasant and the gentleman," which is "one of the worst mixtures you can get."

• This class has no basis upon which middle classes are generally based, and it is characterized by "a lot of confused behavior." Someone has said 'this class behaves the way it does because it lacks the Protestant ethic.' Middle classes generally, for example, are thrifty; they save money. "We don't. The Negro never has had any money to save."

•The Negro middle class lives in two worlds, "the world of reality and the world of make believe," for there is a certain "inauthenticity" about Negro life, brought about by the ghetto kind of caste system in which the colored American has lived.

• As a reaction perhaps to the ghetto life, the Negro has to "do some things to keep from going



DR. MEDLEY PROFFITT *of Helena, Arkansas, president of the National Dental Association, Inc.*

crazy." Consequently, when the colored American gets some money he "doesn't know what to do with it." So these new middle-class Negroes "buy gold doorknobs and other things and engage in all forms of conspicuous consumption."

- The Negro middle class is growing up "without any minds." This colored American believes "there's something negative about being a Negro; he's supposed to escape from being colored." Hence he has a "feeling of insecurity and inferiority because he's striving to be so much."
- This class has lost its religion . . . "Running from the Baptist Church, to the Congregationalist Church, to the Bahai trying to find some place where people don't know they're colored." With no religion of his own, this colored American has gone "from church to chance. Poker has taken the place of religion."
- And the middle-class Negro has no philosophy except perhaps the philosophy of opportunism."

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Book Reviews

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

The Negro Professional Class. **By G. Franklin Edwards. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959. 224pp. $4.00.**

In this important and pioneering analysis of the Negro professional class Dr. G. Franklin Edwards, professor of sociology at Howard University, breaks new ground and provides much illumination upon social stratification and social mobility in the Negro community.

The author's basic hypothesis, when he undertook the research for this study, is that since emancipation there has been a gradual crystallization of a bourgeoisie or "middle class" with an accompanying decrease in occupational and social mobility. In order to test this hypothesis, Mr. Edwards has made a rigorous statistical analysis of occupational mobility among Negroes in a selected group of professional occupations in the District of Columbia. Since a "middle class" based on business has not developed among Washington Negroes to a significant degree, Edwards' analysis of the middle class is focused on the professional group. For purposes of analysis he has selected the high-status professions of medicine, dentistry, law, and college-teaching (conceding that his conclusions would probably be modified if public school teachers and ministers were also included in his study).

The author sought information on the social origins of those in professional occupations, on certain social characteristics of the group, on "the amount of mobility demonstrated by them as measured by the difference between their occupational level and those of their fathers and grandfathers," on the motivations which led them into their careers, and on the typical career profile of the group. Undoubtedly of greatest interest are Edwards' conclusions on the subject of social mobility. And since the author secured data for about four generations (including the respondents' fathers, paternal grandfathers, brothers and adult sons) what he has to say is of considerable interest and value.

In general the author concludes that the typical respondent came from a white-collar background, though some did have parents in blue-collar occupations. Few fathers were in the proprietor group, though a signficant number of the grandfathers had been. Perhaps the most striking finding is that the fathers of the respondents had, on the whole, been more upward mobile than the present generation. It is clear that those interviewed tended to come from relatively fortunate home-environments, with parents of comparatively good income and well above average educational attainments. Through a comparison of the older and younger respondents in his study, the author concludes that the older respondents tended more to extremes

of color (both light and dark) while the typical younger respondent tended to be light brown. He attributes this fact to intra-group marrying among members of the professional class, and states: "In no way can it be said that a larger percentage of dark brown and very dark persons . . . is entering high level occupations. Nor can it be said that there is any selective recruitment of light persons for positions in professional fields." In summary, Mr. Edwards' conclusion is that socio-economic mobility is decreasing as the Negro bourgeoisie becomes crystallized, and that there is much more occupational transmission from father to son than there was in the past.

In making comparisons with other groups, the author notes that the members of the Negro bourgeoisie have shown somewhat more mobility than respondents in studies thus far made of the white bourgeoisie. Also, due to the lack of a substantial business development, the Negro professional class is drawn from the proprietor to a far less degree than is the white professional class. He also notes the similarity of Negroes in this regard to other minority groups for whom successful business careers are also unusual because of economic discrimination.

Edwards makes a number of other interesting observations, and raises some provocative and significant questions. The book is a very scholarly one with much tabular data that will be exceedingly useful to the specialist. At the same time it is clearly and simply written and is very well organized, so that it will also be of interest to the general reader. All in all this is a first-rate study in an area that has hitherto lacked investigation. It is to be hoped that the author will continue further research in this area.

AUGUST MEIER
Morgan State College

***When Negroes March*: The March on Washington Movement in the Organizational Politics for FEPC. By Herbert Garfinkel. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959. 224pp. $4.00.**

This is a scholarly study of the 1940 March on Washington Movement which eventuated in President Roosevelt's famous Executive Order 8802. The author first shows the racial atmosphere which prevailed when a group of Negro leaders under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph decided to lead a mass march on Washington. Negro morale was low. American was fighting totalitarianism, but continuing discrimination and segregation at home. It was this anomaly which sparked the MOWN, motivated the setting up of the FEPC, and hence created a greater group reliance among Negroes.

"Wherein lay the threat of the threatened march? It was a combination of . . . factors . . . The ill temper of the Negro community during the early days of the war heightened to a fierce pitch by the defeat of the anti-lynching bill, and the rebuff in the midst of an election campaign by the president himself, made it possible to set in motion persons otherwise apathetic and leaders accustomed to less radical courses of action."

Dr. Garfinkel's book is comprehensive, direct, and is supplemented by a "Chronology of Major Events" and twenty-five pages of notes and bibliography. A useful epilogue explaining the significance of the material closes the book.

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James R. Dumpson, Commissioner of Welfare of the City of New York, is incorrectly described in the picture caption on page 71 of the February *Crisis* as "first deputy welfare commissioner of the City of New York." We regret the blunder.

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